

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 026289  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE:NGANDREWS/LVA  
APPROVED BY EUR:WHLUERS  
S/S: LRFLEISCHER  
AF:WHARROP (SUBSTANCE)  
WHARROP (SUBSTANCE)  
-----110513 010332Z /62  
O 010257Z FEB 78 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026289

NODIS

E.O. 11652:XGDS

TAGS: ET, SO, YO, US, PDIP

SUBJECT: HORN OF AFRICA: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO TITO

1. PLEASE DELIVER WITHOUT DELAY FOLLOWING LETTER DATED  
JANUARY 31, 1978 FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT TITO.  
ORIGINAL WILL BE FORWARDED IN NEXT POUCH.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN WASHINGTON  
IN MARCH, IN ORDER TO HAVE THE BENEFIT OF YOUR WISDOM AND  
EXPERIENCE ON VITAL ISSUES FACING THE WORLD.

SECRET

SECRET

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IN THIS LETTER, I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE WITH YOU AN ISSUE  
THAT IS OF INCREASING CONCERN TO ME: THE UNFOLDING EVENTS  
IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. FOR SOME TIME, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO  
HELP BRING ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA TO THE PEACE TABLE, SEEKING  
TO RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT ON THE BASIS OF THE TERRITORIAL  
INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF EACH COUNTRY AND THE NON-

INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN FORCES.

RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE BECOME

INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN THE HORN, IN A WAY THAT THREATENS

TO TRANSFORM A CONFLICT LARGELY LIMITED TO THE REGIONAL  
POWERS TO ONE WITH BROADER IMPLICATIONS AND RISKS.

IF NATIONS CONCERNED WITH RESTORING PEACE IN THE REGION ARE  
TO BE SUCCESSFUL, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL OUT-  
SIDE POWERS PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL GENUINELY WORK TOWARDS  
THAT END. I AM ALSO CONCERNED THAT THIS AREA NOT BECOME  
THE FOCUS OF COMPETITION BETWEEN OUTSIDE POWERS.

I AM WRITING TO YOU, TODAY, BECAUSE OF YOUR LONG-STANDING  
AND VALUABLE LEADERSHIP OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND  
BECAUSE OF YOUR EFFORTS BOTH TO IMPROVE EAST-WEST RELATIONS  
AND TO ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS TO SHAPE THEIR OWN  
DESTINY WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

YOUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA PROVIDE YOU WITH A  
CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION NOT AVAILABLE TO US. I BELIEVE  
THE PROCESS OF PEACE WOULD BE ADVANCED IF YOU WOULD BE  
PREPARED TO OFFER YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO THE MENGISTU GOVERN-  
MENT IN SEEKING A SETTLEMENT OF THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT. I  
SECRET

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WOULD BE PLEASED IF YOU COULD INDICATE TO THEM MY OWN CON-  
CERN FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, ON THE BASIS OF INDEPEND-  
ENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, THE NON-INVOLVEMENT OF FOREIGN  
FORCES, AND INCLUDING A FAIR RESOLUTION OF THE ERITREAN  
CONFLICT IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO ETHIOPIA. IF AN  
ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI SETTLEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED -- ALONG  
WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET AND CUBAN FORCES FROM  
ETHIOPIA -- WE WILL REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO RESTORE AND  
IMPROVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.

IT WOULD ALSO BE VERY HELPFUL TO ME IF, IN YOUR OWN CONTACTS  
WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, YOU COULD CONVEY MY CONCERN  
ABOUT DEEPENING SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA,  
AS WELL AS MY COMMITMENT TO SEEK A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION  
OF THE ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT. IT IS IMPORTANT, I  
BELIEVE, FOR SOVIET LEADERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY OF  
THIS SITUATION. AS YOU KNOW, IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT  
WE WILL BE ABLE TO PROMOTE DETENTE AND TO WORK WITH SOVIET  
LEADERS IN PROMOTING MUTUAL OBJECTIVES IN IMPORTANT AREAS  
OF ARMS CONTROL. IT WOULD BE REGRETTABLE IF SOVIET ACTIONS  
IN ETHIOPIA MADE PURSUIT OF THOSE OBJECTIVES MORE DIFFICULT  
AND COMPLICATED THE PROCESS OF REDUCING TENSIONS AND BUILD-

ING A FIRMER BASIS FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

I WOULD GREATLY VALUE ANY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT YOU COULD  
PLAY IN THIS TRAGIC AND DANGEROUS SITUATION. I WOULD ALSO  
WELCOME YOUR OWN ADVICE AND COUNSEL ON THE BEST COURSE FOR

THE UNITED STATES TO PURSUE IN BRINGING ABOUT A RESOLUTION  
OF THE CONFLICT.

AGAIN, I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU IN MARCH.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,  
SECRET

SECRET

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JIMMY CARTER

HIS EXCELLENCY  
MARSHAL JOSIP BROZ TITO  
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL  
- REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA  
BELGRADE

END TEXT.

3. IN CONVEYING PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, PLEASE ALSO INFORM

GOY OF FOLLOWING ON SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY IN THE RED SEA

AREA: DRAWING UPON AN ENLARGED SOVIET INDIAN OCEAN  
SQUADRON, WHICH REACHED A LEVEL OF 25-30 VESSELS IN LATE  
JANUARY, THE SOVIETS HAVE CREATED A SIZABLE NAVAL  
PRESENCE IN THE RED SEA AREA. (BEFORE LAST DECEMBER,  
SOVIET SHIPS OCCASIONALLY VISITED THE RED SEA, BUT NOT  
IN SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS, NOR FOR LONG STAYS.) THE SOVIET  
CONTINGENT NOW IN THE RED SEA-ADEN-GULF OF ADEN AREA  
CONSISTS OF ABOUT A DOZEN OR MORE VESSELS, INCLUDING  
LARGE TANK LANDING SHIPS, DEPOT OR REPAIR-SALVAGE SHIPS,  
TANKERS, AND FIVE COMBATANTS, RANGING IN SIZE FROM A  
DESTROYER DOWN TO SMALL FRIGATES.

THIS SOVIET NAVAL FORCE SEEMS CLEARLY DESIGNED TO PROVIDE  
SUPPORT TO, OR TRANSPORT FOR, THE ETHIOPIAN TROOPS  
FIGHTING IN THE HORN. IN PARTICULAR, THE SOVIET FORCE  
APPEARS TO BE INVOLVED IN SHUTTLING SUPPLIES BETWEEN  
ASSAB AND THE BELEAGUERED PORT OF MASSAWA AND IN MOVING  
MATERIAL FROM ADEN TO ETHIOPIAN PORTS. THE SOVIET NAVAL  
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PRESENCE IS COMPLETELY OUT OF PROPORTION TO OTHER

VANCE

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY S/S-O:SVALERGA

APPROVED BY S/S-O:SVALERGA

-----119679 011935Z /47

O 011628Z FEB 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026289

NODIS

FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 026289 ACTION BELGRADE FEB 1.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 026289

NODIS

E.O. 11658:XGDS

TAGS: ET, SO, YO, US, PDIP

SUBJECT: HORN OF AFRICA: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO TITO

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IN THIS LETTER, I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE WITH YOU AN ISSUE THAT IS OF INCREASING CONCERN TO ME: THE UNFOLDING EVENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. FOR SOME TIME, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO HELP BRING ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA TO THE PEACE TABLE, SEEKING TO RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT ON THE BASIS OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF EACH COUNTRY AND THE NON-INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN FORCES.

RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN THE HORN, IN A WAY THAT THREATENS TO TRANSFORM A CONFLICT LARGELY LIMITED TO THE REGIONAL POWERS TO ONE WITH BROADER IMPLICATIONS AND RISKS.

IF NATIONS CONCERNED WITH RESTORING PEACE IN THE REGION ARE TO BE SUCCESSFUL, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL OUTSIDE POWERS PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL GENUINELY WORK TOWARDS THAT END. I AM ALSO CONCERNED THAT THIS AREA NOT BECOME THE FOCUS OF COMPETITION BETWEEN OUTSIDE POWERS.

O

I AM WRITING TO YOU, TODAY, BECAUSE OF YOUR LONG-STANDING AND VALUABLE LEADERSHIP OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND BECAUSE OF YOUR EFFORTS BOTH TO IMPROVE EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS TO SHAPE THEIR OWN DESTINY WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

YOUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA PROVIDE YOU WITH A CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION NOT AVAILABLE TO US. I BELIEVE

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MENT IN SEEKING A SETTLEMENT OF THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT. I WOULD BE PLEASED IF YOU COULD INDICATE TO THEM MY OWN CONCERN FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, ON THE BASIS OF INDEPEND-

ENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, THE NON-INVOLVEMENT OF FOREIGN FORCES, AND INCLUDING A FAIR RESOLUTION OF THE ERITREAN CONFLICT IN A MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO ETHIOPIA. IF AN ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI SETTLEMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED -- ALONG WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET AND CUBAN FORCES FROM ETHIOPIA -- WE WILL REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO RESTORE AND IMPROVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.

IT WOULD ALSO BE VERY HELPFUL TO ME IF, IN YOUR OWN CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, YOU COULD CONVEY MY CONCERN ABOUT DEEPENING SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA, AS WELL AS MY COMMITMENT TO SEEK A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CONFLICT. IT IS IMPORTANT, I BELIEVE, FOR SOVIET LEADERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY OF THIS SITUATION. AS YOU KNOW, IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO PROMOTE DETENTE AND TO WORK WITH SOVIET LEADERS IN PROMOTING MUTUAL OBJECTIVES IN IMPORTANT AREAS OF ARMS CONTROL. IT WOULD BE REGRETTABLE IF SOVIET ACTIONS IN ETHIOPIA MADE PURSUIT OF THOSE OBJECTIVES MORE DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED THE PROCESS OF REDUCING TENSIONS AND BUILDING A FIRMER BASIS FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

I WOULD GREATLY VALUE ANY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT YOU COULD PLAY IN THIS TRAGIC AND DANGEROUS SITUATION. I WOULD ALSO WELCOME YOUR OWN ADVICE AND COUNSEL ON THE BEST COURSE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PURSUE IN BRINGING ABOUT A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT.

AGAIN, I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU IN MARCH.

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WITH WARM REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

JIMMY CARTER

HIS EXCELLENCY  
MARSHAL JOSIP BROZ TITO  
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL  
- REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA  
BELGRADE

END TEXT.

3. IN CONVEYING PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, PLEASE ALSO INFORM GOY OF FOLLOWING ON SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY IN THE RED SEA AREA: DRAWING UPON AN ENLARGED SOVIET INDIAN OCEAN SQUADRON, WHICH REACHED A LEVEL OF 25-30 VESSELS IN LATE

JANUARY, THE SOVIETS HAVE CREATED A SIZEABLE NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE RED SEA AREA. (BEFORE LAST DECEMBER, SOVIET SHIPS OCCASIONALLY VISITED THE RED SEA, BUT NOT IN SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS, NOR FOR LONG STAYS.) THE SOVIET CONTINGENT NOW IN THE RED SEA-ADEN-GULF OF ADEN AREA CONSISTS OF ABOUT A DOZEN OR MORE VESSELS, INCLUDING LARGE TANK LANDING SHIPS, DEPOT OR REPAIR-SALVAGE SHIPS, TANKERS, AND FIVE COMBATANTS, RANGING IN SIZE FROM A DESTROYER DOWN TO SMALL FRIGATES.

THIS SOVIET NAVAL FORCE SEEMS CLEARLY DESIGNED TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO, OR TRANSPORT FOR, THE ETHIOPIAN TROOPS FIGHTING IN THE HORN. IN PARTICULAR, THE SOVIET FORCE APPEARS TO BE INVOLVED IN SHUTTLING SUPPLIES BETWEEN ASSAB AND THE BELEAGUERED PORT OF MASSAWA AND IN MOVING  
SECRET

SECRET

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MATERIAL FROM ADEN TO ETHIOPIAN PORTS. THE SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IS COMPLETELY OUT OF PROPORTION TO OTHER COUNTRIES' NAVAL FORCES CURRENTLY IN THE AREA. VANCE  
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESIDENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** NGANDREWS/LVA  
**Enclosure:** DC IS X1 PER JACKONS SS/I  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
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**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** HORN OF AFRICA: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO TITO  
**TAGS:** PDIP, PPDC, XW, ET, SO, YO, US, (CARTER, JIMMY), (TITO, JOSIP BROZ)  
**To:** BELGRADE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/fa8a6dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014